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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 9 August 1993, at 4.50 p.m.

President:	Mrs. ALBRIGHT	(United States of America)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 4:50 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: I should like at the outset of this meeting to take the opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of my Council colleagues, to His Excellency Sir David Hannay, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, for his outstanding service as President of the Security Council for the month of July. I am sure I speak for all the members of the Security Council in expressing our deep appreciation to Ambassador Hannay for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) MISSIONS IN KOSOVO, SANDJAK AND VOJVODINA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO)

LETTER DATED 20 JULY 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SWEDEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/26121)

LETTER DATED 23 JULY 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SWEDEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/26148)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a request dated 9 August 1993 from Ambassador Dragomir Djokić. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to sit at the table during the course of the discussion of the item before it.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ambassador Djokić took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

(The President)

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/26263, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Hungary, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. Members of the Council also have before them documents S/26121 and S/26148, which contain the text of letters dated 20 and 23 July 1993, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Sweden to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/26210, letter dated 28 July 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and S/26234, letter dated 3 August 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Madam President, please allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. You are the only ambassadress in the Council, and I am confident that your outstanding talent and rich

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

experience will surely lead the work of the Council to success this month. I would also like to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Sir David Hannay, for his effectiveness and efficiency, which have left a deep impression on us.

The Chinese delegation is of the view that the issue of Kosovo is an internal affair of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be respected in line with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. Based on this consideration, we believe that the Council, in handling this issue, should exercise extreme prudence and act in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, especially the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

We have noted that recently the United Nations and the relevant regional organizations have played an increasingly important role in engaging in preventive diplomacy and other activities. Preventive diplomacy, as part of the pacific settlement of conflicts embodied in Chapter VI of the Charter, should be carried out at the explicit request, or with the prior consent, of the States and parties concerned. It should never be imposed against their will.

Practice over the years has shown that the consent and cooperation of the parties concerned are essential factors in ensuring the success of the endeavours of the United Nations and regional organizations.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) missions to Kosovo and other areas of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were sent at the beginning with the consent of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The present dispute between the two sides over whether the missions should be continued

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

should therefore be solved through continued dialogue and consultation between them. Any outside interference or pressure will not be helpful in finding a proper solution, and may only further complicate the issue.

We also wish to point out that when differences arise between a regional organization and a sovereign State the question whether the Security Council should involve itself and, if it is necessary to do so, what principle should guide its action is indeed an important one for us to ponder.

My delegation, in the spirit of seeking common ground and consensus, had offered specific amendments to the draft resolution in line with the principles I have mentioned. However, it is very much regrettable that they have not been accepted. We will therefore have to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/26263.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and one abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 855 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): The delegation of Hungary shares the deep concern over the refusal of the Belgrade Government to allow the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) missions of long duration in Vojvodina, Kosovo and Sandjak to continue their activities.

The missions were established to promote dialogue between the authorities and communities in the three regions, collect information on human rights violations and promote solutions to such problems as well as to assist in providing information on relevant legislation on human rights, protection of minorities, free media and democratic elections. As the Chairman-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE points out in her letter of 20 July 1993 to the President of the Security Council, the missions have indeed proved extremely valuable in promoting stability and counteracting the risk of ethnically motivated violence in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. My delegation fully shares this assessment of the role of the CSCE missions.

In fact, we strongly believe that transparency in the protection of human rights is an important factor of stability and security, being a litmus test of a Government's fulfilment of its obligations under the United Nations Charter and other relevant international instruments.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

The decision of the Belgrade Government was taken at a time when the situation in each of the three regions continues to be volatile. The international community has had well-founded reasons to concentrate its attention recently on Kosovo, where tension gives cause for serious concern. However, the situation is also very fragile in Vojvodina and Sandjak, where the human rights and fundamental freedoms of ethnic communities are far from being fully respected. We are particularly concerned about the situation of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, which is being continuously threatened and lives under conditions of intimidation and harassment. As a consequence of this, tens of thousands of Hungarians have had to leave and seek refuge abroad, mainly in my country. It is not by accident, either, that at the same time Serb settlers have been sent to Vojvodina in large numbers, moving into the homes of Hungarians who left the region. Although the methods are somewhat different, the objectives behind this scenario are all too familiar by now.

Hungary, like the CSCE community as a whole, is of the view that the expulsion of the CSCE missions is an act that further aggravates the threat to peace and security in the Balkan region. Therefore, we consider that the call of the Council to the Belgrade Government to re-examine its position is a perfectly legitimate and sound action, supporting the efforts of the CSCE in this matter of grave concern.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Let me start by congratulating you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. I have no doubt that under your intelligent guidance the Council will successfully discharge its duties in what may turn out to be yet another very busy month.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

A word of recognition is also due to Ambassador David Hannay and to the delegation of the United Kingdom for the highly skilled manner in which they conducted the work of the Council in July.

The Brazilian delegation voted in favour of resolution 855 (1993), adopted in response to the notification provided by the Chairman-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, regarding the suspension of the CSCE missions in the regions of Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It did so bearing in mind that the consideration of the substantive aspects of this issue, which is to be seen within the framework of the relationship between the CSCE and its member States, falls within the competence of that regional arrangement.

Today's resolution, which exhorts the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reconsider its position and allow the continuation of the three CSCE long-term missions in its territory, was adopted by the Security Council at the request of some of its members that are also members of the CSCE. It is the hope of my delegation that the decision taken today by the Council will help create conditions for the adoption of the measures of cooperation called for in the resolution and ultimately for the solution of the differences between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the CSCE.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): I should like first, Madam President, to welcome your leadership of the Council for the current month and assure you of my delegation's fullest support and cooperation.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

On behalf of the Pakistan delegation, I should like to register our profound gratitude to Sir David Hannay, the Permanent Representative representative of the United Kingdom, for his sagacious and excellent guidance of the Council's activities over the difficult month of July.

We are grateful to the co-sponsors of resolution 855 (1993) for taking a timely initiative to ensure the resumption of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) missions in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. We deeply regret the decision of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities to expel these missions. Pakistan recognizes the value of the contribution that these missions have made to peace and stability in the area. We strongly share the view that their departure would further aggravate the existing threat to peace and security in the region.

My delegation deems it appropriate to recall the decision of the Twenty-first Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Karachi in April this year, urging the Security Council to adopt effective measures to prevent any further aggravation of the extremely tense situation in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina.

There are important lessons to be learned from the evolving situation in the region, which is largely a direct result of the ineffective action of the international community on the continuing aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the gains of aggression are allowed to be accepted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is bound to be a spillover of the aggression and conflict elsewhere in the region. The Security Council must therefore act with resolve and determination on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter and respect for the rule of law.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

In the specific case of Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, the adoption of the present resolution presents only a first step. We express the hope that it will lead to an early resumption of CSCE missions in the region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The delegation of France would like to add its congratulations to those that you, Madam President, extended to the Ambassador of the United Kingdom for the remarkable way in which he presided over our work during July. I should also like to say how pleased we are to see you guiding the Council's work this month; we know that the Council is in good hands.

My delegation is pleased that the Council is giving its firm support to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) so that the activities of its long-term missions in the former Yugoslavia can continue. Their positive contribution is recognized by all. As stated in letters from the Chairman-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE, it is a question of ensuring the stability of the region. The decision of the Belgrade authorities to discontinue the missions is therefore unacceptable.

As the resolution adopted today emphasizes, the activities of the missions are in no way aimed at affecting the sovereignty of a State, but are designed to ensure respect for the fundamental principles to which all the member States of the CSCE, including the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) have committed themselves. Their presence contributes to avoiding any extension of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, where there are real risks.

We are therefore gratified that the Council is making this solemn appeal to the Yugoslav authorities to reconsider their refusal to allow the

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

continuation of the activities of the CSCE long-term missions on their territory. It is up to them to do so without setting any conditions and without introducing irrelevant matters into this issue.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): At the outset, let me congratulate you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. I also wish to express my appreciation to Ambassador Hannay, who presided over the Council in an efficient manner during the month of July.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan is gravely concerned over the situation in Kosovo and other areas. Let us recall the Tokyo Summit Political Declaration, issued by the countries of the Group of 7 on 8 July 1993, which stated:

> "Deeply concerned about the situation in Kosovo, we call upon the Serbian Government to reverse its decision to expel the CSCE monitors from Kosovo and elsewhere in Serbia and to agree to a significant increase in their numbers."

Despite such appeals by the international community, the situation remains unchanged.

Japan attaches great importance to the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Japan holds observer status in the Conference and has dispatched personnel to its mission to Yugoslavia. The mission certainly deserves our sincere appreciation. The Serb authorities have said they understand its importance, but if the necessary action is not taken the Serb side will be responsible for any escalation of tensions there.

By the same token, any attempt to link acceptance of the mission with other questions is inappropriate. Monitoring of the area is necessary and is not a matter for bargaining.

The situation in Kosovo and other areas cannot be allowed to become a greater threat to the peace and security of the region, and the international community must therefore address the situation in a timely and effective manner. Failure to do so would become a source of greater regret. For this reason, Japan supported the action by the Security Council, and it hopes that the Serb authorities will respond properly to this clear message.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The Spanish delegation is pleased, Madam President, to see you at the helm. Your personal qualities, long-standing commitment to the international scene and lofty responsibilities in your own country's administration are the best guarantee of the successful execution of your functions as President of this Council in August.

Allow me also to pay tribute to the excellent work done by your predecessor, Ambassador Hannay of the United Kingdom, whose outstanding qualities and diplomatic talent are well known to all of us.

Since being set up by a decision of the Committee of Senior Officials in Prague in September 1992, a group of 20 observers, under the command of Ambassador Bogh of Norway, has been carrying out important work to promote dialogue and cooperation between the minority groups in the regions of Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the competent authorities of that country. Their work, carried out with dedication and scrupulous impartiality, has served the cause of peace, as has been recognized by the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro. Evidence of this is the letter dated 3 August from the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General. Distributed as an official Security Council document (S/26234), this letter says:

> "As far as the Missions of Long Duration are concerned, we are fully aware of the positive results of the Missions' presence in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and we have nothing against their renewed presence in future,". (S/26234, p.2)

It then adds this:

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

"but it is for CSCE to decide when it would be prepared to accept our offer for normal cooperation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." (ibid., pp. 2-3)

As regards this second point - the wish of the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro to have its status in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) reviewed - my delegation considers that it is not a matter on which the Security Council should make any pronouncement. We hold this view for various reasons - in particular, that the Conference itself has expressed its interest in seeing this situation normalized as soon as possible. Thus, at its meeting in Stockholm late last year, the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of the CSCE defined the essential conditions that must be met for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be gradually readmitted to the Conference. We adhere to those conditions.

The Spanish authorities regret the refusal of the authorities in Belgrade to authorize the CSCE missions of long duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina to continue their activities, because we are firmly convinced that the work of those missions is fundamental to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region because it prevents both possible outbreaks of violence and an increase in the instability prevailing in the area.

Hence, we hope that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will reconsider the decision they have taken on this matter.

For all those reasons, the Spanish delegation cosponsored the draft resolution that was before the Council today and voted in favour of its adoption.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): Let me first say, Madam President, how delighted we are to see you in the Chair in this month of August. We hope you have a successful time and we offer you our full cooperation.

It is a matter of great concern to my delegation that the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have refused to allow the missions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to continue their work in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. I must remind the authorities in Belgrade that they continue to be bound by obligations which were entered into in the context of the CSCE and the binding commitments under the so-called Moscow mechanisms. I also note, as others have done before me, that the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have themselves acknowledged, in document S/26234, the positive results of CSCE missions. They are a source of objective information, they promote security and dialogue between the communities there and above all, we hope, they will avoid any spread of the already-terrible conflict to other parts of ex-Yugoslavia.

We regret very much that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not yet lived up to its obligations. We hope it will now do so without delay, and we associate ourselves with remarks made earlier, in particular by the Japanese and Spanish delegations, that this is not a matter for bargaining between the CSCE and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): I wish to express, Madam President, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Indeed, your wisdom, candour and affability are the kind of personal qualities that will no doubt enhance the effectiveness of this Council.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

May I also express our deep gratitude to Ambassador David Hannay of the United Kingdom for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

Confronted so often as we are in the Council with man-made disasters, we perhaps tend to overlook those phenomena of nature which periodically seem to remind mankind of the existence of powers beyond our own. We have been witnessing for some time now the awesome spectacle of rampaging rivers in the American Midwest, which has unleashed widespread destruction and suffering among the people of the area. Such has been the tragedy there that the drought a short distance to the south has scarcely been noticed. May we offer your delegation, Madam President, our deepest sympathies and heartfelt wishes for that region's speedy recovery and return to normalcy.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

My delegation lends its full support to the draft resolution just voted upon, on the need to retain monitors of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandjak. Once again we are faced with a situation pregnant with the possibility, indeed almost the certainty, of the outbreak of hostilities, as a result of pervasive repression of the Albanian ethnic group, numbering more than 2 million and constituting the majority of the population of Kosovo. All the signs of a military offensive are there, such as the increase of troops in the area, intentional and provocative troop movements, and low flights of military aircraft. There is the unmistakable indication of a repeat of the Bosnian tragedy. Given the pervasive ethnic ties in the Balkan area, which never seem to follow national boundaries or borders, containment of these hostilities will present an impossible task. We may be faced, therefore, with a general Balkan conflict.

Fear of such a widespread conflict has been the focus of the desire for monitors in the area, to watch for any signs of a heightening of tensions. There is perhaps, though, a more immediately humanitarian aspect to this situation, which needs to be addressed as well. That is the total abuse of the human rights of the non-Serb people in the area, part of the pattern of "ethnic cleansing" we have seen often in Bosnia.

Non-Serbs in Kosovo have systematically been denied property, removed from their homes, excluded from employment, had their schools closed, faced religious persecution, been subjected to physical abuse, and had many of their organizations prevented from operating. Torture, disappearances, arbitrary detention, killing and political imprisonment are widespread and increasing.

These facts are well known, and every day appear to worsen. Naturally, however, they are disputed by the Serbs, who continually offer us a different "spin" to events there. Undoubtedly things will only become worse if the

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Serbs are allowed to continue unmonitored; and the true nature of the abuses, not to speak of their extent, will be hidden from public view. Certainly the Serbs recognize this, which is why they have seized the opportunity to blame the CSCE for an unwillingness to cooperate with them, using this as justification for terminating the mandate of the monitors.

Belgrade recognizes only too well what is implicit in this dispute - we are really talking about Bosnia; the case really lies in the siege of Sarajevo and other towns in Bosnia. As long as this genocide is allowed to continue, Belgrade has no reason to blink first. The international community has blinked so often in Bosnia - and continues to blink - that our eyes are now nearly always closed.

Nevertheless, for what it may achieve, my delegation therefore supported the resolution for the return of the monitors. In this way, we shall at least have available reports to corroborate our worst fears.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me, and in my national capacity I should like to thank him for his good words about the problems of the people in the United States.

I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States strongly supports the activities of the missions of long duration of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as vital to the international community's efforts to prevent the spread of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. By monitoring the human rights situation in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, these missions have announced clearly to the authorities in Belgrade that the international community will not tolerate Serbian oppression of local non-Serb populations.

(The President)

The United States Government has made this same point. President Bush's message was specific and clear: We are prepared to respond against Serbia in the event of a conflict in Kosovo caused by Serbian action. Secretary of State Christopher has firmly reiterated this message.

The decision of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to terminate the CSCE missions was a serious mistake, and we call on the authorities to reinstate them at once, without any precondition. It is evident that the authorities in Belgrade would like to trade their permission to reinstate the CSCE missions for the Federal Republic's return to membership in the CSCE.

The CSCE has made it unequivocally clear that these missions are not part of any bargain. We fully support that position. The authorities in Belgrade should understand that all parties to the tragedy that has engulfed the former Yugoslavia can only gain by the presence of impartial human rights observers. Human rights abuses will simply delay Serbia and Montenegro's return to the community of nations. Broader conflict born of human rights abuses will wound the aggressor along with the victim.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.